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"BUSINESS."

A Brazen-Blunt Capitalist Lets Out What that Means.

A JUGGERNAUT CAR.

Wealth is intended to support life—
Capitalism turns this upside down
and sacrifices life to wealth. The life
it sacrifices is, of course, not the life
of the idle class, but the life of the
toiling masses, whose every inch
must be devoted to the production
and protection of the wealth on
which its exploiters are enabled to
spend a riotous existence.

WASHINGTON, D. C., Dec. 6.—The
Interstate Commerce Commission during
last week granted a hearing to the
various railroads who were requesting
an extension of time within which to
equip their freight cars with safety ap-
pliances.

During the course of that hearing
several gentlemen representing the rail-
roads said some very good things, i. e.,
good for use by Socialists. Chief among
those gentlemen was John R. Cowan,
receiver for the B. & O., who, in answer
to a statement that loss of life and limb
was caused by lack of said safety ap-
pliances, said: "THE QUESTION OF
LOSS OF LIFE OR LIMB DOES NOT
ENTER INTO THE QUESTION
UNDER CONSIDERATION; it was a
matter of business; was the commerce
and business of the country to be con-
tinued or not? That was the only
question to be decided by the Commis-
sion."

The advocates of "business" claim
that business is conducted for the pur-
pose of sustaining and enhancing life;
that it is the most important thing in
the world, to which all others must give
way, because without "business" and
commerce those things necessary to
sustain and enhance life could not be
secured; that without "business" hu-
manity would cease to exist; that on
"business" hang all of humanity's
hopes and desires; that "business" and
"business" alone make life possible.
Such being the case, it is remarkable
for one who is engaged in conducting
the "business" to a large extent of the
country to say that life cuts no ice
where "business" is concerned; that if
to carry on "business" it becomes
necessary to destroy life, well and good,
let her rip, "business" is "business,"
and that which it was instituted to sus-
tain and enhance must go by the board.
There is no reasonable excuse for
commerce or business except that they
are necessary to humanity in the pro-
duction and distribution of those things
necessary to the life of humanity; for
no other reason were they instituted; for
no other reason are they tolerated by
humanity; and when, instead of con-
serving and enhancing life, they become
destructive of life, that minute they
become a hindrance to and an outrage
upon humanity. Socialists long ago
pointed out the fact that the present
system of production, called "business,"
was destructive to life; long ago they
pointed to the abuses and crime caused
by "business," and it remains now for
the upholders of the present system to
support the statements of the Socialists.

Men are murdered and maimed in the
conduct of business. "Very good," says
the capitalist; men are starved in the
midst of plenty by business; "all right,"
says the capitalist; men are denied the
chance to live by business; "we don't
deny it," says the capitalist; "but what
are you going to do about it?" Does the
working class need any better food for
thought? What are they going to do
about it? They are the ones who suffer
from "business"; they are the ones
killed and maimed, and whilst the So-
cialist workingman has pointed out
those facts, evidence has been ac-
cumulating to prove that what he said
was true.

Socialism has indicted the present
system as murderous and useless to
them, and has arraigned the upholders
of that system at the bar of humanity
who now brazenly and defiantly plead
guilty.

Business conserves and sustains the
lives of those who control and manage
it, and is a menace to all others—ad-
mittedly so. Why, then, allow it to
exist? Because we cannot abolish it?
It is supported and sustained solely by
ignorance on the part of the working
class of its real nature, and because
those who support and sustain it do not
know what to put in its place.

We must produce those things neces-
sary to sustain life; without them we
must die; yet we die because we want
to live. How are we to change things
so that we can get these things and
live? The present system of produc-
tion is one wherein the means of pro-
duction are the property of a few, used
by that few not to further the interests
of humanity but to secure themselves
wealth that others produce, so that they
may live in a superfluity of luxuries.
Now, these instruments of production
—machinery, tools, etc., are the crea-
tion of humanity, created for the purpose
of securing those things necessary to the
life of humanity, and are NOT in any
sense the creation of the few who now
own them. They are therefore as a mat-
ter of course not the property of those
who now hold them. Such being the
case, they are used as are all things
stolen, to secure the thieves in the op-
portunity to steal more, and it is only
natural that while in the hands of the
thieves they should be a curse instead
of a blessing.

Originally the right to private
ownership in the land on which to work
was secured by violence and fraud; so

likewise was the right to private owner-
ship in the machinery with which to
work secured, and both "rights" have
been perpetuated by and through legis-
lation in the interest of the capitalist
class, who have through the agency of
political and labor fakirs bunched the
working class into allowing the cap-
italist class to control legislation.

The working class can by organizing
in their own interest along class-con-
scious political lines remove from the
capitalist class the "right" to private
ownership in land and machinery, and
can make both the collective property
of the people operate the machinery,
etc., co-operatively, and secure to every
man the right to work and the right to
live free from danger and abuse. But
they cannot gain those rights by help-
ing those who subject them to abuse and
danger, nor by following every Yahoo
chasing wild geese. They have got to
face the monster of "business" man-
fashion, understand that they and they
alone keep that monster in existence;
and, understanding that, they will know
it as something tangible, something cap-
able of being forced to array its sup-
porters on the political battle field, and
soon becoming clear on that point, to
annihilate it with the Arm and Hammer
of the Socialist Labor party, the only
party in this country intelligent enough
to know what ails US, and the only
party brave enough to locate OUR
enemy; therefore the only possible party
of the working class, and because of
that, the only party necessary to secure
the "emancipation of the working
class."

ARTHUR KEEP.



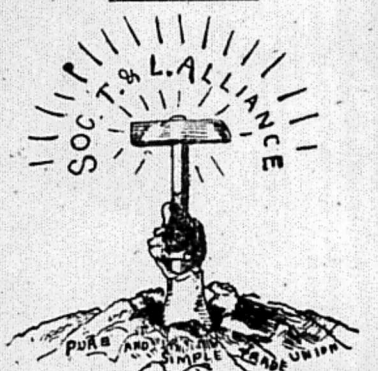
VICTORY IN HAVERHILL.

Municipal Election Returns from
Massachusetts.

HAVERHILL, Dec. 8.—At to-day's
municipal election Comrade Jas. T.
Carey, the S. L. P. candidate for Alder-
man in the 2d Ward, was returned at
the top of the poll. He is the first So-
cialist elected here. The S. L. P. can-
didate for Mayor polled 800 votes.

FITCHBURG, Dec. 7.—Andrew David-
son, S. L. P. candidate for Mayor polled
here to-day 498 votes; Herman Kaiser,
for Alderman, 2d Ward, 238. Last Nov.
2 we had 105 votes.

SPRINGFIELD, Dec. 7.—For S. L. P.
Mayor, John B. Cullen, 153; for Alder-
man, Ward 4th, John Doyle, 414; Ward
7th, Frederick A. Nagler, 306.



There is great howling and gnashing
of teeth and putting on of sackcloth and
ashes in the household of the Chicago
Anarchist Cloakmakers. Woe is them.
The Cloakmakers' Union, several hun-
dred strong, of that city, decided to join
the S. T. & L. A., and applied for a
charter.

No more to Anarchists, male and
female, the harp of Anarchy will shed
her sounds from the Cloakmakers' Union;
the dues, that once into Anarchic
discord turned and swelled the hearts
of labor cheats, no more shall tinkle
from Cloakmakers' Hall to disunite,
disrupt, mislead those workers.

Thus the glorious days of fakirism
pass and go, and a new era, bright with
hope, is breaking forth.

WHOSE PRESIDENT IS HE?

With wages tumbling down in all
directions; with the masses of the
people in more and more depressed con-
dition—the working class finding it ever
harder to get jobs, the middle class find-
ing it ever more difficult to hold its own
in competition with the rapid con-
centrations of capital; with suicide and
kindred signs of economic depression,
Mr. William McKinley opens Congress
with these words:

"Your meeting occurs under felicitous
conditions, justifying sincere congratula-
tion, and calling for our grateful
acknowledgment of a beneficent Provi-
dence, which has so signally blessed and
prospered us as a nation."

This William McKinley is a President.
Whose President? Of the prosperous.
These are barely ten per cent. of the
nation. Ninety per cent. are not
prosperous; just the reverse.

Mr. William McKinley is the Presi-
dent of the prosperous class—the cap-
italist class.

Let the working class take this fact to
heart, and hasten to elect a President
who shall be the President of the ma-
jority.

'TIS NO WONDER

That The Working Class Is Despised by the Capitalists.

Samuel Gompers Traitor—Before the
Interstate Commerce Committee, In-
stead of Asserting the Rights of the
Workers, he Yields that and Takes the
Railroad Bond-holders Under his
Wings—Ignorance and Corruption Ex-
emplified—The Fundamental Prin-
ciples of Economics and of Justice on
Which Rest all the Aspirations of the
Proletariat Ignored.

Mr. Samuel Gompers has again placed
the uprising proletariat under deep ob-
ligation to himself. With his usual
abnegation he has again filled in his
own matchless way the rôle of "Horrible
Example" that must enlighten the
workers on the reason why they are
looked down upon with contempt by the
capitalist class. Such services are valu-
able. They cannot be rendered very
long before the self-branded labor fakir
class shall be cast off, and the labor
movement pass into the hands of in-
telligent as well as honest leadership.

The scene was in Washington, in the
room where the Interstate Commerce
Commissioner was holding a certain
session; the time was the afternoon of
the 1st instant. The occasion was the
hearing granted to the application of
Railroad Companies for a further exten-
sion of the time when the present
deadly coupling system shall be sub-
stituted by the automatic coupler. Op-
ponents to the application of the com-
panies were also invited. Mr. Gompers
was there. Did he appear for the com-
panies? Did he appear for the railroad
hands, for the workers who had been
lucky enough to have so far escaped
mutilation or death? Let Mr. Gompers
himself speak.

From 10 to 20 thousand railroad em-
ployees have suffered more or less
serious injuries, and 2,000 have been
killed outright during the last five
years. Of these "accidents," fully 60
per cent. are directly attributable to the
existing system of coupling. The law,
whose extension of time the companies
are praying for, has already been ex-
tended. The present request is based
on the same grounds as the previous
ones, to wit, the expensiveness and in-
convenience of the change.

Every one knows, or should know,
that there is no railroad line in the
nation that does not throw wealth,
under some guise or another, into the
hands of some idle railroad proprietor.
These proprietors have a variety of
ways to conceal the fact. Dividends are
not always forthcoming, and then the
proprietors put on a poor mouth and
look abused; but they are silent on the
fact that though the stocks draw no
dividends, another tentacle of the
vampire Capitalism does, to wit, the
tentacle of "bonds." Even when in the
hands of a receiver a railroad may be a
source of fat profits or fleecings.

But again, even if indeed not a cent of
unearned wealth were to-day yielded by
a road to "stockholders," or "bond-
holders," or "lessors," or what not,
every one knows, or should know, that
such road did at one time yield re-
venues on which these gentlemen lived in
comfort and safety; that these revenues
were wealth squeezed out of the flesh,
the marrow and the sweat of workers;
and that the original capital itself that
enabled these fleecings to be perpetrated
represents wealth for which the work-
ing class had to work, bleed and even
die. Thus, even if a certain time no
such fleecings can be had, it is no
reason why the fleeced should continue
to be exposed, and the fleecers should
not shell out some of their stolen goods
for the protection of the robbed.

The representatives of the Railroad
Companies before the Interstate Com-
merce Committee held the view that it
was proper to the capitalist class. Ac-
cording to them, it would be a "wrong
done to investors" who are now "deriving
small returns" to put in the automatic
coupler, and thus "wipe out" the little
earnings; but above all, it would be an
unheard-of, most un-American inquiry
to "inflict on the companies" such an
expense as the new couplers would in-
volve, at a time when no dividends are
paid upon stocks. Surely no fault could
be found with such views. They express
accurately the class interests and class
morality of the class that utters them,
and in whose behalf they are uttered.
They are class-conscious capitalism.

And Mr. Gompers, for whom did he
appear? The tree is known by its fruit;
the man by his acts. He claimed to
represent the working class. Did he
display that honesty and intelligence
that the workers demand from their
representative? Surely here was an op-
portunity to do both. To tear the mask
of economic falsehood and of brigand
justice behind which the oppressors and
slaughterers of laborers hide their
hideous faces; to show that the demand
amounted to nothing short of a request
that these butchers be allowed to draw
some more profits from their butcheries;
and to pronounce in the firmest notes
possible the principle that LIFE IS
MORE PRECIOUS THAN PROPERTY.
It was the opportunity to tear to shreds
the capitalist false pretences that the
laws they enact are for the whole
people, and, to demand in the sternest
notes in the name of the working class
that the tardy coupler law be at last
enforced and enforced quickly—even if
by so doing some loafing capitalist may
get less fleecings, or may be left with-
out any. That is what a bona fide rep-
resentative of the working class would

(Continued on Page 4.)

BOSTON'S MAYORALTY.

Letter of Acceptance by the S. L. P. Candidate.

David Goldstein, the Socialist Labor
Party Candidate for Mayor in the
Pending Boston Municipal Election,
Outlines the Premises and Aims of
Socialism, Taking the Sound Ground
that all Election Involves the Issue
of Labor Against Capitalism, and
Every Vote Cast, Whatever the Elec-
tion May be, Says Either "For" or
"Against" the Continuance of Wage
Slavery.

BOSTON, Nov. 10.—Socialist Labor
Party of Boston: Comrades—Your com-
munication of Nov. 3d, 1897, notifying
me of your selection of myself as can-
didate for the office of Mayor of the city
of Boston is at hand. In accepting the
responsibility and honor, I wish to say
that the issues that confront the work-
ing class of our city are the same as the
issues that confront the wage workers
of the State, the nation and the world.

That is to say that CAPITALISM, or
individual ownership and control of the
means of life, is the obvious cause of
the intellectual, moral and economic
servitude of the people.

The wealth of the United States, ac-
cording to the statistics of Geo. K.
Holmes, is divided as follows:

The capitalist class, which is com-
posed of 8 1/2 per cent. of the families of
the nation, owns and controls 71
per cent. of the wealth, amounting to
\$42,200,000,000, which includes real
estate and improvements, farm ma-
chinery, mines, quarries, gold and silver
coin and bullion, machinery of mills
and products on hand, railroads and
equipments, telegraphs, telephones,
shipping canals, etc., etc.

The middle class, composed of 39 per
cent. of the families of the country,
owns 24 per cent. of the wealth, amount-
ing to \$14,550,000,000, which is invested
in small farms, factories and stores,
while the working class, who comprise
52 1/2 per cent. of the families of the
nation, own 4 1/2 per cent. of the wealth
amounting to \$2,746,000,000, which con-
sists of articles of personal use. Work-
ingmen-owning real estate are not in-
cluded in the 52 1/2 per cent.

The middle class are being eliminated
in the competitive war which is going
on in society to-day, as they are not in
control of enough capital to compete
with the larger capitalists. They are
on the verge of bankruptcy, and the
major part of them will be forced into
the ranks of the wage workers.

According to Bradstreet, there were
last year 1,150,000 firms and corpora-
tions in the United States and Canada.
Of this total number, which comprises
every concern great or small, in man-
ufacture, trade, commerce, transporta-
tion, mining, insurance, banking, etc.,
224,000, or nearly 20 per cent., either
failed or gave up business during the
year.

Of the 17,300 that failed, and of the
207,200 that retired in time to escape
bankruptcy 80 per cent. had a capital
of less than \$5,000, and 14 per cent. had
a capital of more than \$5,000 but less
than \$20,000.

At this rate it would take but a very
few years to wipe out of existence every
firm in North America having a capital
of less than \$20,000, and to concentrate
in the hands of a few thousand great
concerns all the business of this con-
tinent.

There are still, however, many people
who possess a little property accumu-
lated in better times, chiefly by their
fathers, and who untaught by the mis-
fortunes of their neighbors, rashly em-
bark with their little all in the rotten
ship of middle-class enterprise, thus
filling the gaps made by bankruptcy in
the ranks of the mercantile army. "But
this supply of raw material for capital-
istic absorption is necessarily limited,
and the time of its absorption cannot be
distant."

In view of these facts, it can be plain-
ly seen that a struggle among the cap-
italists is going on in our midst, that is
to say, great capitalists who have ap-
propriated the surplus values created
by their wage workers and thereby
amassed large fortunes, by which they
now control all the natural resources
of the earth, land, water, and all the
machinery of production, transporta-
tion, distribution and exchange, THE
CAPITALIST CLASS whose wealth is
being concentrated into fewer and fewer
hands, and by the formation of monop-
olies and trusts are putting an end
(amongst their class) to competition
which they some time held "to be the
life of trade."

The working class (52 per cent.) who,
having no control of the things neces-
sary for them to work upon in order
to produce the articles necessary for
them to sustain their lives and propa-
gate their species, are dependent upon
capitalists for an opportunity to ex-
ercise their labor power, in order that they
may produce (according to the report of
Carroll D. Wright of 1890) \$2,204 worth
of wealth annually that they may re-
ceive \$445 called wages, while competi-
tion amongst their class is becoming
fiercer and fiercer owing to the intro-
duction of machinery which displaces
labor power and keeps the price of
laborers down to the lowest subsistence
level—that is to say, the working class
get for the energy they expend upon
the raw materials and machinery
enough food, clothing and shelter to
recuperate the force they expend and
to produce more laborers, or, as Karl
Marx says:

"The value of labor power as the
value of all commodities is determined
by the labor time necessary for its pro-
duction and reproduction."
Labor power has "use value," which

is determined by the cost of its pro-
duction.

Labor power is sold at its "exchange
value." If we desire to ascertain the
value of any commodity we must bring
it into relation with another commodity,
which, like itself, has social power em-
bodied in it, and qualitatively measure
it by that substance. If we do this, we
get our equation, one price.

This principle applies to all commodi-
ties. We find the value of labor power
by cost of production, given the cost of
subsistence of labor power, which is
equal to the quantity of labor embodied
in the necessities of life of the worker,
and you can ascertain the cost of pro-
ducing the wage slave.

Society is split into two classes—cap-
italists and workingmen, whose inter-
ests are diametrically opposed to each
other. One who owns all the lands and
tools of production and whose economic
class interests prompt him to buy labor
power at the lowest possible price. This
can be done only by keeping a surplus
of it on the market, and the other class
who possesses nothing but labor power
and are compelled to sell it from day to
day in order to live.

The Socialist Labor Party, conscious
of the irresistible economic develop-
ment and understanding the source of
wealth production, is convinced that
nothing but the complete overthrow of
the present wage system, and the sub-
stitution of production for use in place
of production for exchange, for profit
will put an end to the struggle for exis-
tence going on in society.

"To-day," says Karl Kautsky, "there
is no longer any question as to whether
or not the system of private ownership
in the means of production shall be
maintained. Its downfall is certain."

"The only question to be answered is
this: Shall the system of private owner-
ship in the means of production be
allowed to pull society down into the
abyss, or shall society shake off that
baneful burden, place the land and the
implements of production in the hands
of the people, to be operated collec-
tively, for use and not for profit, and then,
free and refreshed, resume the path of
progress, which the evolutionary law
prescribes to it?"

"Such is the question and such the
alternative. Our generation stands
where the roads fork. One path leads
through ruin, back to barbarism; the
other leads onward to the co-operative
commonwealth."

The Socialist Labor Party declares for
the abolition of economic classes and
the establishment of the co-operative
commonwealth in which the means of
production, distribution and exchange
shall belong to the people in common.
A commonwealth in which no one is
longer will be compelled to sell them-
selves as a commodity into wage slav-
ery. A society in which no man will
live upon the labor of his fellow man.
A society in which the workers will get
the full return for energy expended and
no longer be compelled to lead lives
that are not their own. In a word, a so-
ciety in which every man, woman and
child irrespective of race, creed or color
will have an equality of opportunity.

I consider it a great distinction to
have been selected as the standard
bearer of the Boston Socialist Labor
Party in this our first city campaign,
and let us hope in the near future the
majority of citizens in our city will be-
come conscious of the fact that their
economic emancipation lies in voting
into full power—municipal, State and
national—the only workingman's party
that holds in its keeping the key to the
solution of the problems that confront
the workers of the world to-day, the
Socialist Labor Party.

With pride and gratitude, Comrades,
I accept the nomination you have
honored me with.

Yours fraternally,
DAVID GOLDSTEIN.

There are those who claim the S. T. &
L. A. accomplishes nothing. Let these
gentlemen stick their noses over the
following fact:

The German Typographia No. 7, con-
trolled by Anarchist pure and simple-
dom, besides treating their unemployed
members as dogs, was considering a
proposition to lower the out-of-work
benefit. At that juncture appeared the
document of the General Executive
Board of the S. T. & L. A., "In the Mat-
ter of the Printers," giving a graphic
account of the anti-solidarity conduct
of the Typographia. The immediate re-
sult was:

First—The proposition to lower the
out-of-work benefit was dropped like a
hot potato;

Second—The unemployed of the union
were awakened to a sense of their own
dignity, and began to move for higher
out-of-work benefits.

The field to raise recruits from is not
that of "union" office holders, but of
the men who have nothing to lose but
their chains.

"Crispi Must Face Ugly Charges."

"Legislative Commission Appointed to
Investigate His Case."

"Italy's Grand Old Man."
"Blackmail, Embezzlement and Sale of
Decorations Ascribed to the
Ex-Premier."

"He Appealed to King Humbert to Stop
All Proceedings, and Menaced the
Monarch with Deposition and
Exile if He Refused."

ROME, Dec. 2.—To-day the Chamber
of Deputies appointed a commission of
five to inquire into the charges against
Signor Francesco Crispi, former
Premier, in connection with the Bank of
Naples scandals, and the illegal traffic
in decorations.

What a spectacle for this capitalist
century when this is a specimen of the
"Grand old men" it produces!

DIFFERENCE

Between Socialism and Communism.

Two Words often Confounded Yet Rad-
ically Different—As Communism
Rises Simply From Humane Aspira-
tions, it Ignores the Material Founda-
tion of all Social System and Im-
agines a System of Society that Flies
in the Face of the Requisite System
of Production—Socialism Grounded on
the Material Corner-Stone of Society
Builds in Strict Logical Accord There-
with.

Very often the greatest opposition to
Socialism is the result of a gross mis-
apprehension of its true principles. If
our opponents, instead of abusing the
Socialists and condemning the system
of society Socialists propose to estab-
lish, would only take the pains to in-
vestigate this subject and read some of
the authorities on Socialism, they
would, in a very short time, be able to
see their mistake in condemning prin-
ciples of which they were wholly ig-
norant.

Socialism and Communism are two
terms often used by opponents in a way
which would indicate that they mean
one and the same thing. Mostly all of
the bourgeois writers on Socialism con-
found the two terms that way. To
them Socialism is synonymous with
Communism. This is a great error.
The following will prove the absurdity
of using the two terms as if they meant
the same thing.

First, as to Socialism.—To-day the
term Socialism is more popular than it
was ever before; that is because the
essence of the Socialist movement is
now more or less known everywhere.
People no longer think Socialism to be
a terrible thing, and a Socialist to be a
man with red hair (similar to that of
the terrible Huns of the Dark Ages),
savage faces, whiskers reaching to the
ground, where are hidden a few dozen
bombs and a few pounds of dynamite.
Thanks to the activity of the militant
Socialists, those days of blessed igno-
rance are already a thing of the past.
Nearly every one who possesses com-
mon sense looks upon a Socialist as a
man whose aim is to organize a system
of society different from the one exist-
ing at the present time.

What is Socialism?
In the "Coming Social Struggle" I had
occasion to define it as "a theory of
social organization, which the in-
dustries will be organized on a national
or international basis of collective
ownership, operated and controlled by
all the members of society."

Socialism then aims at the abolition
of all private ownership in the means
of production and exchange, as, for in-
stance, the soil and all the implements
of production. But this does not at all
exclude private ownership of things for
personal use. Under Socialism, every
individual who did not spend all he
earned will have perfect freedom to dis-
pose of his personal wealth in a way to
suit himself. This is Socialism.

Communism differs from Socialism in
this particular: while Socialism desires
to place under collective ownership that
part of wealth called capital, which is
needed to produce the necessities and
luxuries of life, Communism goes fur-
ther and demands the abolition of
private ownership of all kinds of wealth.
Communism would not leave anything
to the individual, and it would make
the community the sole owner of all the
wealth. While Socialism has for its
maxim—to each according to his needs;
Communism has for its maxim—to each
according to his needs.

The following seems to be another
essential difference between Socialism
and Communism. While the former
tends to centralization, the latter tends
to the direct opposite—decentralization.
The forming of small "communes"
seems to be an essential feature of com-
munism, and therein Communism is a
back number in the world's history, be-
cause the modern and requisite method
of production, necessary to produce
abundantly, demands nations for its
basis. The "commune" is too small a
basis. Communism ignores this econ-
omic and social fact; Socialism recog-
nizes it.

These, I believe, are the main differ-
ences between Socialism and Commu-
nism.

The leading Communists preceded the
modern Socialists. Mostly all of
the former lived between the latter half
of the eighteenth century and the first
half of the nineteenth century. They
were nearly all of noble birth, who,
mostly from philanthropic and senti-
mental motives, desired to see Com-
munism established. But this kind of
Communism never developed into a
movement.

Modern Socialism more truly begins
with Karl Marx, the greatest economic
thinker and most far-sighted man of the
present century. Frederick Engels is a
man of no less importance to the So-
cialists, although inferior to Marx. It
is a fact that the German school of
economics produced all modern Social-
ists, while the French school produced
all Communists.

Marx planted Socialism on the dis-
covery of the fact that the class struggle
exists in modern society, and that
thereby the elements are formed that
will inevitably lead to the Socialist Co-
operative Commonwealth.

WILLIAM EDLIN.

General Agitation Fund.

Previously acknowledged \$275.00
Arbeiter Saengerbund, per Herm.
Schönborn, Brooklyn, N. Y. 50.00
Ernest Lemmon, Barre, Vt. 1.00
Fred. Smith, Barre, Vt. 2.00
Workmen's S. & D. B. Fund, Br.
Pawtucket, R. I., per Otto Rein-
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THE PEOPLE.

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will be returned if so desired and stamps are
enclosed.

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SOCIALIST VOTE IN THE UNITED STATES.

In 1888 (Presidential).....2,088
In 1890.....12,231
In 1892 (Presidential).....21,157
In 1894.....25,123
In 1896 (Presidential).....36,564

Rightly, to be great,
Is not to stir without great argu-
ment,
But greatly to find quarrel in a
straw.
When honor's at stake.
Shakespeare.

A typographical error made us say in
this place last week that the Socialist
Labor party's vote this year, as in-
dicated by the latest returns, would ex-
ceed "52,000." we meant to say 53,000.
More recent and completer returns
enable us this week to raise these
figures.

Colorado comes in with 1,444; the re-
turns from New York are larger than
we calculated, and will be close to 21-
000. The final official figures are not yet
all in. Until we have them the full
table can not be published.

But this much is now certain: The
class-conscious revolutionary political
army of the nation last Nov. 2 rose
ABOVE 54,000.

A WARNING TO HOLYOKE WORK-
MEN.

There is in Holyoke a paper published
with the German name of "Die Blene,"
partly in the German and partly in the
English language. We don't know who
its editor is, nor what, if any, organiza-
tion is back of it. Its language, how-
ever, on political matters justifies a
word of warning. For instance, this
passage occurs in its issue of the 1st in-
stant:

"In the Second Ward OUR PARTY
has put up no candidate for Alderman.
For this reason we recommend to the
voters of that ward that they support
Mr. J. M. Piquette. Although he is set
up by the Republican party, he is a man
such as the workmen could not want
any better."

This passage is not in itself cause for
a warning. "Our party" may be any
party; it may be the Democratic, the
Populist, the Prohibition or even Debs'
party, seeing that its organ claims the
"Social Democracy" has set up an or-
ganization in that town; "our party"
may be any of these according as the
writer or owner of a paper may be
Democratic, Republican, etc., and, in
that case, the passage would not be
cause for surprise.

That which entitles the above quoted
passage to be cautioned against is the
company it turns up in. In previous
issues, in the issue in which the passage
occurs, and in subsequent issues, num-
erous Socialist Labor party articles
appear; S. L. P. candidates are men-
tioned; the S. L. P. vote, and no other
party's is given; the S. L. P. platform
and no other platform is published;—in
fact the paper conveys the impression
of its being an S. L. P. paper, owned and
controlled by the S. L. P. This being
thus, "our party" is suggestively the S.
L. P., and uninformed or incautious
people may be deceived into the belief
that a responsible Socialist paper could
commit such a breach of trust against
the workers as to recommend to them
to vote for a candidate who stands upon
a labor-fleeing party's platform.

In view of this we earnestly warn the
workmen of Holyoke against the decep-
tion that is attempted upon them by
"Die Blene." A man who deserves the
support of workmen will not be found
in the ranks of capitalist parties; he
will be found in the ranks of the S.
L. P.; the man who is found in the ranks
of capitalist parties not only does not
merit the support of the workers, but he
merits their suspicion, all the more be-
cause his boomers seek to extenuate his
capitalist political affiliations.

The passage herein quoted, together
with the S. L. P. setting given to it, is a
piece of fraud, all the more blame-
worthy because it insinuates a danger-
ous theory, a theory that directly flies
in the face of principles that are funda-
mental with the Socialist movement, to
wit, that the capitalist parties are pro-
ducts of capitalist class interests, and
that the working class cannot reach
through such portals, but through the
portals of their own class party, the
benefits to be derived from political
success.

The reverse theory, preached in the
article that we quote from "Die Blene,"
has been a great stumbling block in the
path of proletarian class-consciousness;
no individual Socialist or Socialist or-

ganization can advance such theory
without his or its being expelled for
crookedness as fast as the party's ma-
chinery can operate upon the crook in
question.

The S. L. P. warns the workers of
Holyoke to keep their weather eye upon
"Die Blene," and to give the Republican
candidate Piquette a wide berth, as a
man who carries water on both
shoulders, and, consequently, is par-
ticularly to be mistrusted.

THEIR UTILITY.

The report from Virginia, published
under "Party News," on the fourth page
of this issue, deserves careful perusal;
like a phylactery, the lesson it teaches
should be kept permanently between
the eyes, and nailed to the door-posters
of those who are now drilling within the
party for the arduous work that lies at
hand.

The vote for the party's candidate for
Governor fell nearly 1,500 votes behind
the poll of the candidate for Lieutenant-
Governor. That the heads of our tickets
should run somewhat behind is, at this
early stage, to be expected; the fight
usually is on them, and not a few are
still so confused on the significance of
class politics that while they substan-
tially adopt the Socialist platform, they
fear to "lose their votes"; knowing that
the head of the Socialist ticket will not
be elected, they virtually repudiate all
the Socialist candidates whom they vote
for by voting for the head of some cap-
italist ticket. This we know is a com-
mon thing; we count with it; and we
counteract and seek to correct it by the
intensity of our class-consciousness
awakening propaganda.

The lesson taught by the Virginia re-
port is of a very different nature. It
turns out that a semi-freak, and who
knows if not worse, called Cowden, set
himself up as a candidate for Governor,
and sailed under the usurped colors of
Socialism. His action confused a num-
ber of voters, who, not guided by any-
thing on the ballot, and misguided by
Cowden's claims, took this adventurer
for the Socialist Labor party's candidate
for Governor, and thus were cheated out
of their suffrage.

The firm attitude of the S. L. P. to-
wards the non-descripts and crooks,
who float about as Socialists, is fre-
quently condemned as intolerance. What
"tolerance" in such cases would mean
the heavy drain on the poll of the
S. L. P. candidate for Governor in Vir-
ginia gives a hint of. The capitalist
parties will not be slow to discover the
utility of the Cowdens; these will be
bred in regular order; and if the cry of
"tolerance" should sufficiently affect the
party, no warning sound or too weak a
warning would help the masses to
escape being entrapped. Incubators of
Socialist stool pigeons will then become
a regular department of the capitalist
political machines.

Let the lesson be thoroughly learned
and never lost sight of. Whosoever is
a Socialist ranks himself under the
banner of the S. L. P.; whosoever does
not, is none; and, if he dons Socialist
colors, must be exposed and fought with
even greater severity than the open
enemy, he being a much more danger-
ous one to the cause of human redemp-
tion—because of his false pretences.

NOT AN EMPTY BOAST.

What is considered the most remark-
able industrial organization in the his-
tory of manufacturing is about com-
pleted. It is a mammoth \$50,000,000
wire combine. The report of those who
engineered the consolidation runs thus:

"A nest of blast furnaces will be
erected without delay on the banks of
the Black River. The new organization
reaches to the very roots of the industry,
including all the wire, rod, capacity in
the country, and having control of the
supply of materials from the ore in the
ground to the wire nails and the finely
spun wire, used for all purposes from
the manufacture of cloth to the erection
of a telegraph line, the finished product
of the industry. The company will own
iron mills about Lake Superior. Some
of these are the Jackson mine of the
Cleveland Rolling Mill Company, the
Oliver interest in the Oliver-Carnegie
purchases on the Mesaba range, and the
Tilden and Norrie mines. Like the
Carnegie Company, in its line of struc-
tural material, rails, and other heavy
stuff, the wire consolidation, in its own
line, WILL BE ABLE, WITHOUT THE
POSSIBILITY OF SUCCESSFUL COM-
PETITION FROM ANY SOURCE
WHATSOEVER, TO SUPPLY WHAT-
EVER MARKETS IT DESIRES TO
ENTER."

This last clause is no empty boast.
And what does it mean?

It means, first, that, to a greater ex-
tent than before and more brazenly than
ever, the myth about labor's right and
capacity to change its master has been
curtained.

It means savings at a tremendous
rate, and that these savings will be
made at the expense of the workers,
whom such consolidation renders super-
fluous, who are thrown upon the streets,
and who, by increasing the supply of
labor reduce the price of labor, or the
wages of the worker.

It means increased power to the
private holders of so essential a social
institution, and deepened dependence
for the workers who alone will produce
all the wealth yielded by the well-ran-
ned concern.

Finally, it means one more object
lesson of collective labor and its pro-
ductivity; one more giant object lesson
of the absurdity of such collective labor
going hand in hand with private owner-
ship; one more heavy blow on the back
of a social system whose productive

powers are rotten-ripe for public owner-
ship; one more long stride towards the
Social Revolution.

THE SAME OLD STORY.

News comes from England that the
contemplated railroad strike has been
abandoned. The reason given is that
"not one-third of the men are organized,
and their society has not money enough
to undertake a strike!"

Such a set of facts—no funds and un-
organized majority—coming from the
classic ground of pure and simple trade
unionism, tells a tale that should be
taken to heart.

The theory of pure and simple union-
ism is that the condition of the workers
can be improved by organizations that
are simply and purely industrial or
economic. According to this theory, the
Labor Question is not a political ques-
tion at all. Politics can go as it likes;
provided the workers are organized for
the economic struggle, all is done that
can and need be done. This theory pre-
supposes the possibility of so organizing
the workers while the Government is
left wholly in the hands of the idlers or
capitalists, and no political effort is put
forth looking towards the dislodgement
of the capitalist class from its political
power. We have often illustrated the
fundamental error of a theory that
denies so essential a principle as that
the Labor Question is essentially a polit-
ical one, and the fatal results that flow
from the misconception. We shall not
now return to that phase of the ques-
tion. We shall here take up the pure
and simple position from another side.

The proof of the pudding lies in the
eating. The pure and simple theory has
been in practice fully two generations
and in England it has had full swing.
If it were possible to organize the
trades upon pure and simple lines the
thing would surely have been done in
England. Was it? No; the failure there
is almost as signal as here: Only a small
minority is organized, and the funds
collected are too trifling to justify en-
trance into a conflict with the well-filled
pockets of the foe. The condition of the
society of railroad workers in England is,
therefore, a stubborn fact, which
denies pure and simpledom.

Nor can it be otherwise. Planted on
a theory of the social system that is
wholly wrong, every step taken by the
pure and simple organization must tend
towards exemplifying its impotence.
It cannot gather the forces of labor
within its camp because it rears its
camp within bounds that are too nar-
row. A pint measure can never contain
a gallon. The gallon measure of the
Labor Question will never go into the
pint measure of the pure and simple
trade union. Only the broad bottomed
measure of New Trade Unionism can
embrace the Labor Question.

To organize the trades successfully,
the capitalist or bourgeois idea of or-
ganization for the purpose of cornering
the merchandise labor-power must be
abandoned. The worker must be en-
listed as a soldier conscious of the pur-
pose of his enlistment—not the uphold-
ing of the existing system by imitating
the exploiters, but the overthrow of the
existing system. Only then can they be
all gathered together, because only then
is the bond of solidarity between all
quickened into life.

POLITICAL and ECONOMIC.

If any one needs any evidence of the
profundity of ignorance that typifies
capitalist papers let him read, scan and
gloat over this gem from the Abbing-
ton, Mass., "Advertiser":

"The Socialist party of Austria-Hun-
gary is as harmonious as the National-
ist party of Ireland. While mankind
are perishing for want of light, liberty
and the comforts of civilization, the
Socialists of Austria-Hungary quarrel
among themselves and split up into two
parties—the Social Democrats and the
Christian Socialists;—and fight and stone
each other, and pull hair over a little
matter of theology."

We are now ready at any moment to
find in the columns of some Austria-
Hungary compere, of the "Advertiser,"
some item like this:

"The Socialists of America are quar-
reling among themselves; they have
split up into two parties—the Socialist
Labor party and the Gold Bug Repub-
lican party, and they are actually vot-
ing each other down; and such is the
hatred of these two split up factions of
the Socialist party, that the Gold Bug
Republican faction actually tries to sup-
press the vote of the other Socialist fac-
tion, the Socialist Labor party, and it
even sends rowdies into their meetings,
who have to be handed over to the
police."

Although our friends the enemy in-
sist in imputing to us devilish qualifica-
tions, we shall give them one more illus-
tration of our angelic, nay, saintly dis-
position.

The Indianapolis, Ind., "Deutsch-
Amerikanische Buchdrucker-Zeitung,"
organ of the German compositors, has
been wearing out its teeth—like the
serpent in the fable trying to chaw off a
file—in its attempt to overcome the im-
pregnable array of facts with which, in
its circular "In the Matter of the
Printers," the G. E. B. of the Socialist
Trade & Labor Alliance convicted cer-
tain "unions" and "unionists" of aiding
scabs and of other grave crimes against
the proletariat.

We wish to exemplify our charity to
the distressed "Deutsch-Amerikanische
Buchdrucker-Zeitung" by extending to
it, in all sincerity, our heartfelt
sympathy in its tribulations.

PROBING POVERTY.

A committee, consisting of leisurely
college professors, has been appointed
to inquire into the causes of destitution
in New York. Their report is interest-
ing. Interesting not only for the points
it furnishes to hang the professors over
the head with, but also because it fur-
nishes a striking and living illustration
of one of the most telling passages in
Bellamy's "Looking Backward."

Here is what our professors actually
report:

The 500 records examined gave a total
number of applications for relief of 832.
These were distributed as follows: 500
applied once, 184 a second time, 87 a
third time, 35 a fourth time, 12 a fifth
time, 7 a sixth time, 4 a seventh time,
and 3 an eighth time. A conclusion
drawn in the report is that "a consid-
erable amount of chronic pauperism"
exists, the real amount being greater
than these figures indicate. In the 500
families there were 782 men and women.
Fifty-five per cent. were married; 25
per cent. were widows; a small per-
centage were deserted wives. The num-
ber of single males exceeded that of
single females. In age, the largest num-
ber of applicants were between thirty
and thirty-nine, "the period," says the
report, "of greatest strain upon families
on account of the number of children
who are yet dependent." In 27 per cent.
of the families there were no children.
The average number of children for the
500 cases was 2.05. The nationality of
the applicants was as follows: American,
26.4 per cent.; English, 8.2 per cent.;
German, 12.6 per cent.; Irish, 34 per
cent.; Italians, 1.6 per cent.; other
nationalities, 17.2 per cent.

The report then passes on to a statis-
tical consideration of the alleged and
real causes of distress. In a table of
alleged causes it appears that distress
was due in 313 cases to loss of employ-
ment, in 226 cases to sickness or acci-
dent, in 25 cases to intemperance, in 52
cases to insufficient earnings, in 45 to
physical defect or old age, in 40 to death
of wage-earner, in 40 to desertion, in 103
to uncertain causes. In the table of real
causes a widely different state of affairs
appears. Lack of employment appears
as the cause of distress in 115 cases,
sickness or accidents in 102, physical
defect or old age in 27, death of wage-
earner in 18, desertion in 15, intemper-
ance in 87, shiftlessness in 50, "no need"
in 86.

When reading the records the tabula-
tors made an attempt to determine the
character of the adult members of the
families, with the following result:
Good, 353; criminal, 16; insane, 1; in-
temperate, 127; shiftless, 108; suspicious,
43; untruthful, 29; uncertain, 103.

Of the treatment of these cases the
report says:

The treatment consists of friendly
visiting and advice, of giving temporary
help, of referring to hospitals, churches
and societies to which the case properly
belongs, and in finding permanent em-
ployment. As the chief cause of dis-
tress is lack of employment, the treat-
ment most needed is to find employ-
ment. In many cases this is the only
thing demanded, but to find permanent
employment is the very thing most diffi-
cult to accomplish, especially in times
of distress and when the applicant is
intemperate, shiftless, or of uncertain
character. In many cases a great va-
riety of treatment is given, and the case
is nursed along until it becomes either
independent or disappears.

The report shows that employment
was found in 6.53 per cent.; temporary
aid given, 20.19 per cent.; references to
hospitals and societies were given 20.92
per cent.; found to have no need of re-
lief, 25.88 per cent.; unworthy of help,
10.31 per cent.; reason uncertain, 10.03
per cent.; information given to inquirer,
6.94 per cent.

Were they not anticipated by the
author of "Looking Backward," and
their cold cruelty well photographed by
him in the following passage:

"By way of attempting to give the
reader some general impression of the
way people lived together in those days,
and especially of the relations of the
rich and poor to one another, perhaps
I cannot do better than to compare so-
ciety as it then was to a prodigious
coach which the masses of humanity
were harnessed to and dragged toil-
somer along a very hilly and sandy
road. The driver was hunger, and per-
mitted no lagging, though the pace was
necessarily very slow. Despite the diffi-
culty of drawing the coach at all along
so hard a road, the top was covered with
passengers who never got down, even
at the steepest ascents. These seats on
top were very breezy and comfortable.
Well up out of the dust, their occupants
could enjoy the scenery at their leisure,
or critically discuss the merits of the
straining team. Naturally such places
were in great demand and the competi-
tion for them was keen, every one seek-
ing as the first end in life to secure a
seat on the coach for himself and to
leave it to his child after him. By the
rule of the coach a man could leave his
seat to whom he wished, but on the
other hand there were many accidents
by which it might at any time be wholly
lost. For all that they were so easy,
the seats were very insecure, and at
every sudden jolt of the coach persons
were slipping out of them and falling
to the ground, where they were instan-
tly compelled to take hold of the rope
and help to drag the coach on which
they had before ridden so pleasantly.
It was naturally regarded as a terrible
misfortune to lose one's seat, and the
apprehension that this might happen
to them or their friends was a constant
cloud upon the happiness of those who
rode.

"But did they think only of them-
selves? you ask. Was not their very
luxury rendered intolerable to them by
comparison with the lot of their broth-
ers and sisters in the harness, and the
knowledge that their own weight added
to their toil? Had they no compassion
for fellow beings from whom fortune
only distinguished them? Oh, yes; com-
passion was frequently expressed by
those who rode for those who had to
pull the coach, especially when the
vehicle came to a bad place in the road,
as it was constantly doing, or to a par-
ticularly steep hill. At such times, the
desperate straining of the team, their
agonized leaping and plunging under
the pitiless lash of hunger, the many
who fainted at the rope and were tramp-
led in the mire, made a very distress-
ing spectacle, which often called forth
highly creditable displays of feeling on

the top of the coach. At such times the
passengers would call down encourag-
ingly to the toilers of the rope, exhort-
ing them to patience, and holding out
hopes of possible compensation in an-
other world for the hardness of their
lot, while others contributed to buy
salves and liniments for the crippled
and injured. It was agreed that it was
a great pity that the coach should be
so hard to pull, and there was a sense
of general relief when the specially
bad piece of road was gotten over. This
relief was not, indeed, wholly on ac-
count of the team, for there was al-
ways some danger at these bad places
of a general overturn in which all would
lose their seats."

"It must in truth be admitted that the
main effect of the spectacle of the mis-
ery of the toilers at the rope was to
enhance the passengers' sense of the
value of their seats upon the coach, and
to cause them to hold on to them more
desperately than before. If the pas-
sengers could only have felt assured
that neither they nor their friends
would ever fall from the top, it is
probable that, beyond contributing to
the funds for liniments and bandages,
they would have troubled themselves
extremely little about those who
dragged the coach."

Twenty-five more "Automatic Gate-
men" have since election been intro-
duced in the Manhattan Elevated Road
of this city. These machines displace
an equal number of ticket-choppers.

What has Tammany's victory done for
these displaced proletarians? Or would
any other capitalist party's victory have
prevented this dire consummation?
Assuredly not.

A Socialist victory would have put a
different aspect on the case: It is very
doubtful whether the capitalist class
would so ruthlessly throw human
beings on the streets to suffer if that
class—those human beings and the
rest of the working class made an in-
telligent use of the ballot; if the workers
gave evidence of knowing the value of
the vote they hold, and showed it by
conquering therewith the public powers
from the capitalist class, this class
would be slow to treat them in a way
that would egg them on to hasten the
downfall of capitalism.

But even if the labor vote had not yet
reached last November the magnitude
of a victory, the workers would at least,
by having greatly increased the vote of
their class, have brought the day of
their deliverance by so much nearer.

These "Automatic Gatemen" being, as
they are, in plain view of the whole pub-
lic, ought to bring home to the whole
working class what the effect of im-
proved machinery is, and how urgent it
is to take control of the machine.

Own the machine, or the machine will
own you.

CORRESPONDENCE.

A Correct Forecast.

To THE PEOPLE:—As capitalists
have desecrated poetry, art and the flag
for the vile use of advertising and po-
litics, they will in a short time un-
doubtedly do the same with our Federal
constitution, especially the preamble,
the best part of it, and the following
will be the style adopted:

We, the people of the United States,
in order to form a more perfect union,
use Le Page's Glue, establish justice, in-
sure domestic tranquility by insuring in
the New York Life, provide for the com-
mon defence by using Sapollo, and gen-
eral welfare by taking Hood's Sarsa-
parilla, do ordain and establish this
constitution for ourselves and our pros-
perity.
Yours truly,
New York, Dec. 1.

LETTER BOX.

Offhand Answers to Inquirers.

A. L., Minneapolis, Minn.—Your
letter of last October 13 turns up now at
the bottom of an old file. Guess the
questions you ask have since been
answered one way or other in these
columns. If not, let us know, and, if
not too many subsequent questions
from other sources happen to bury yours
out of sight, shall try to answer.

T. L., Westerly, R. I.—Just look up
THE PEOPLE's file; you will see our
N. Y. vote. It grew everywhere.

M. M., Boston.—Send in the matter
for next week. De Leon's address will
probably find space in next issue.

C. K., New York.—The matter lies
in the hands of the "Daily People Com-
mittee."

MEN OF LABOR.

(Written for THE PEOPLE by J. A. EDGERTON.)

Men of labor, why for others
Ever toil?
Men of labor, be ye brothers,
Not the spoil
Of the vampires, who are taking
All the wealth that ye are making;
Of the serpent that would crush you in
its coil.

Why be slaves? Why wait ye longer?
Be ye free.
Than your tyrants ye are stronger.
Liberty!
Shout that watchword unto heaven;
Shout it till your bonds are riven;
Shout it till the sounds ring over land
and sea.

Make Equality the beacon
To the earth;
Until Tyranny shall weaken,
And a birth
Bright as the bright dreams of sages
In the past and vanished ages,
Of Fraternity and Liberty come forth.

Speak! The weary world is waiting
For your call;
Never in your zeal abating,
Until fall
All the Greed and Wrong that bind
us;
Wrecks upon Time's shore behind
us;
And a new day shed its beauty over all.



UNCLE SAM & BROTHER JONATHAN

Brother Jonathan—It is clear to me
that we are fast going to the devil in
this country, and will get there soon
too, unless the break is put down.
Uncle Sam—You have spoken like an
oracle.

B. J.—The shackles of slavery are
being forged—

U. S.—Oracular again.

B. J.—Yes, we must stop that.

U. S.—True. How would you go about
it?

B. J.—Put an end to the tyranny that
Socialism proposes.

U. S.—I don't quite understand you,
B. J.—I'll explain. The Socialists are
organizing unions, and they demand
that a certain wage shall be paid—

U. S.—No harm in that—

B. J.—No harm? That's tyranny!

What becomes of freedom? I would have
laws passed to protect the employers,
and thereby insure freedom.

U. S. smiles.

B. J.—It is an essential principle of
freedom that workmen shall have
the right to labor unmolested for such
persons and at such wages as he or she
may elect.

U. S.—May elect?

B. J.—Yes.

U. S.—Does "election" presuppose
freedom of choice?

B. J.—Of course.

U. S.—If there is no freedom of
choice; is there an "election"?

B. J.—No.

U. S. (taking out a pistol, puts it to
the head of B. J., who tries to run off
but is held back by U. S.)—I'll shoot
you dead if you don't fork out all your
money. What do you elect? To die or
to give me your money? Choose!

B. J.—Are you crazy? Police!

U. S.—No, sir; very much in my
senses!

B. J.—Have you become a highway
robber? Police!

U. S.—Never mind that. Choose!

B. J.—How can I choose? Do you
call that giving a man a choice?

U. S.—Don't you?

B. J. (scared out of his senses)—No; I
don't.

U. S. (puts his revolver away, much
to the relief of B. J.)—You went through
a good scare, eh?

B. J.—I don't like such jokes.

AUSTRIA.

The disturbances now going on in Austria are destined to lead to results that will seem unexpected and unaccountable unless one is informed on the under-current of the Socialist movement in the Empire. In view of that,

the below sketch on the Socialist Labor party movement in Austria will be found interesting reading. It is one of the monographs that will appear in the Socialist Almanac, now being prepared by Lucien Sanial:

There were only a few Socialists in Austria, scattered and unorganized, when in the last days of 1867 some "economic reformers" of the Schultze-Delitsch school undertook to hold a series of meetings in Vienna for the purpose of establishing co-operative stores. At one of those gatherings, which was attended by six thousand working people, the Socialist Hartung obtained the floor. In a brilliant speech, buttressed with the powerful arguments which Ferdinand Lassalle had a few years before used in his discussion, now historical, with Schultze-Delitsch himself, he so completely routed the "co-operators" that the vast audience tore up the by-laws of the association that had just been formed, and resolved itself into a Socialist organization, which immediately entered into communication with the "International."

Four months later (May 10, 1868), a manifesto was issued in the German, Hungarian, Bohemian, Polish, Roumanian and Italian languages, calling upon the tolling millions of the empire to unite and organize for the attainment of the following objects:

- 1—Universal and direct suffrage.
- 2—Emancipation of the working class from capitalistic tyranny.
- 3—Complete freedom of speech and association; liberty of the press.
- 4—International brotherhood of labor and consequent abolition of war.

"Capital," said the manifesto, "has no nationality, no race, no frontiers. Neither has labor power, which in all countries is subjected to the same use and abuse."

On that day also a deputation was sent to the government to demand universal suffrage. The claim, of course, was ignored. But the organization of the masses proceeded with such rapidity that on the 18th of December, 1869, upon a call issued by the Central Committee, one hundred thousand men assembled in Vienna, marched in military order to the legislative palace, and presented the demands formulated in the manifesto of 1868, with a supplementary one for the abolition of permanent armies and the substitution thereof of a militia comprising all the citizens able to bear arms.

The ruling classes were terrified. The Prime Minister, after conferring with the Emperor, promised that the demands would be duly considered. Suspicious, yet law-abiding, the great procession filed away in the same perfect order as it had observed in coming; not, however, until the statement had been made by its leaders that if the demands were not granted the people would come again, and in greater numbers, to signify their will. On the following day the leaders were arrested, the Socialist papers were suppressed, and a large military force was concentrated at Vienna to prevent any demonstration that might be attempted.

During the era of despotism and persecution that followed, the movement for a time preserved its vigor. But, owing to the nearly complete disfranchisement of the proletariat, it could not, as in Germany, assume the form of a great political party; nor did the Anarchists, in spite of their efforts, succeed in side-tracking it, although they succeeded well enough, by an occasional "propaganda of the deed," in strengthening the government. When the International went out of existence, the more devoted among those who were imbued with its principles concluded to carry on, quietly but steadily, an educational agitation until the time came, in the natural course of economic and political developments, when it would be possible to resume work on a scale of greater magnitude and upon such tactical lines as the surrounding conditions might then suggest. Realizing the extent to which the march of Social Democracy in the German Empire would of itself prove a factor of education and encouragement in their own country, they intently watched its advance and enthusiastically heralded its victories.

They were not disappointed. From 1880 to 1887, the propaganda became very active, and resulted in a good beginning of organization. In Bohemia, especially, the movement grew apace; not only among the German-speaking inhabitants, chiefly settled in the Northeast, but among the Czechs—or Bohemians proper—who constitute more than three-fifths of the population of that important part of the Austrian Empire. The conditions there were such, however, that Anarchistic appeals to passion naturally evoked a readier response from the oppressed workers than could be obtained by the Socialistic method of cool-headed, clear-sighted, scientific and determined advance to a well-defined objective point. The Anarchists, therefore, were not slow in availing themselves of every opportunity to gain influence and to prepare the ground for those factional dissensions which, there as elsewhere, had finally to be ended by the summary process of repudiation and separation in order to arrive at a thoroughly homogeneous and really strong movement.

It was from their intercourse with the Germans that the Czechs had first acquired some notions of Socialism. But the vigilance of the Bohemian authorities, who promptly confiscated every tract, leaflet or other literature obviously destructive of "sound ideas and honest sentiments" concerning property, had rendered the dissemination of Socialist truth practically impossible until a Bohemian edition of Schaeffle's "Quintessence of Socialism" made its appearance. Owing to the high position which its author had occupied in the imperial councils, this work could not well be suppressed, and it was hungrily perused by the multitude. Only within the past seven years did the Czechs have access to some of Marx's and Bebel's writings. Nevertheless, as already stated, their progress was rapid in the early eighties. It was also marked by extraordinary suffering. "Hundreds of Socialists," writes Josef Hybes, who represented the Czechs at the London Congress of 1896, "were dragged in chains to Prague from all parts of Bohemia. The packed Senate of the Provincial Assembly operated as surely and swiftly as the guillotine. To this very day some victims of that era of persecution are languishing in Bohemian dungeons. Most of the labor unions were dissolved. The party organs were suppressed and their staffs thrown into prison."

After a six years' reign of terror, the persecutors relented. Not that they were tired of cruelty; for mercy is an unknown sentiment to the ruling classes so long as their privileges are contested or threatened; but because they fondly believed that they had succeeded in eradicating Socialism from the land, and feared that any further display of harshness, by perpetuating discontent, might prove more hurtful than beneficial to their interests. Some even assumed a benevolent attitude and talked patronizingly of measures "for the improvement of the working class." To their dismay, however, they soon found that the Bohemian Social-Democratic party was anything but a corpse; that it was, in fact, a more active soul in a more lively body than it had ever been; and that it could no more be soothed by middle class "social reform" syrup than driven out of existence by persecution. This was made evident to them in 1887, when the party held a conference at Brunn and elaborated a new programme, the terms of which, however, were to hold good only until the Socialist organizations of the whole empire, through their representatives, assembled in convention, had adopted a general platform, binding upon all; for—it was declared—although the differences of language and other circumstances necessitated the formation of autonomous organizations by the different peoples of the empire with a view to the better conduct of agitation and action, each of them should only be an organic member of the whole "Austrian" party, considered as an indivisible body.

In order to comprehend the full import of this declaration, certain fundamental conditions of Austrian politics should right here be understood. Each of the nationalities united into an Empire under the Habsburg crown, has its own language, its own interests, its own ambitions. Again, in each nationality there are different classes, with special interests, more or less antagonistic. Therefore, a so-called "national" middle class party in Bohemia, for instance, is essentially a Bohemian party, whose interests may at times clash with those of a so-called "national" middle class party in Galicia, or in Styria, or in Hungary. Likewise, the aristocracy of the Empire, though occasionally united upon general questions involving the preservation of its privileges, is frequently divided against itself upon so-called "national" lines. A striking illustration of the effects that may be produced by such a political structure was lately afforded in the riotous proceedings of the Reichsrath, consequent upon the attempted co-ordination of the German and Czech languages in Bohemia, and followed by the fall of the Badeni cabinet. Now, the declaration of the Bohemian Socialists, in strict accordance with the fundamental principle of International Socialism, meant that the proletarian classes of the whole Empire, regardless of language, race, nationality, creed or employment, were to be a political, economical and intellectual unit against each and all of the so-called "national" parties.

This brave challenge of the Bohemian Comrades to the warring cohorts of despotism was relayed with emphasis the following year (1888) by all the Austrian Socialist forces at the Congress of Vienna; where the party as it now exists was constituted, with its several autonomous organizations.

The immediate object of the party necessarily was to obtain universal suffrage; an aim which it had no means of attaining but by constantly harassing the government, the great capitalists, and even the small bourgeoisie. The Socialists, therefore, concentrated a large amount of energy upon the organization of trade unions, although under the law they could not directly affiliate those economic bodies with their political party. The Austrian Government has, indeed; carried out to the letter Sam Gompers' "American Idea," so-called, "No Politics in Trade Unions"; and should this "Pure-and-Simple" British historian ever "go to Austria," it would not be by the organized labor but by the organized tyranny of the country that he would be welcome.

One of their first opportunities in this field of work was the great strike on the tramways. They improved it fearlessly and at no small cost. Persecution revived. In Vienna their official organ, the "Gleichheit," was seized and its editors were imprisoned as "Anarchists." At Steiermark and at Trieste the judiciary gave the law a similar twist in its treatment of Socialist leaders. Nevertheless they won the strike and united the tramway employees into a powerful organization. So great was their activity in all branches of trade that at the Brussels International Congress of 1891 their delegates reported "from incomplete statistics" 230 unions, with a membership of over 48,000.

At the same time they built up a powerful press. The number of their political organs, which in 1889 was already 6, with an aggregate circulation of 15,400, rose in eighteen months to 16, with a total circulation of 50,000. In a still shorter period they established 19 trade papers, with a subscription list of 41,000. At Zurich in 1893 they reported 23 political organs, 13 of which were published in German, 8 in Bohemian and 2 in Polish. The Vienna press alone had a circulation of 32,000 copies, read by not less than 100,000 people.

Such achievements, in the face of obstacles apparently insurmountable, and by men reduced in their means of life to a point apparently below the minimum requirement of animal existence, were well calculated to make the

enemy pause and consider. As every persecution seemed to strengthen the movement, and as the Socialist press, even so trammelled, could not only expound and defend the principles of the party but expose turpitudes and attack offenders, the capitalist became less insolent, the police more circumspect, the judiciary less prone to inflict sentences, and the middle class began to hypocritically profess some sympathy for the "poor workman."

This improvement in the attitude of their despoilers did not blind the awakening masses to the true causes of it. Unaccompanied by economic or political concessions, it rather opened their eyes more widely to the advantages which they could only gain by sustaining the aggressive and uncompromising policy of the Socialists.

"May Day," instituted by the Paris International Congress of 1889, was also most effective in propagating sentiments of proletarian solidarity. Its first observance by the wage-working class in 1890 was general throughout the Austrian Empire. In 1893, coming a few days after the Belgian Comrades had won the battle for universal suffrage, the demonstrations assumed gigantic proportions. The enthusiasm of the people could not be restrained either by capitalistic threats or military display. One hundred and fifty thousand men and women paraded the thoroughfares of Vienna with bands and banners, cheering at every step for "Universal Suffrage" and the "International Social Democracy."

The public clamor for political rights now became so loud and so constant that it could no longer be ignored by the government, even though such a typical reactionist as Count Taaffe was at that time at the head of the Imperial Cabinet. In October, 1893, proposals on the lines of the Belgian scheme—namely, granting the suffrage to the proletarian masses of city and country, but otherwise calculated to maintain the political preponderance of the possessing classes—were brought in by the Ministry. This in itself, regardless of what might subsequently happen, was an immense triumph for the Socialists. It established the fact that to them, and to them alone, the disinherited must look for the assertion and conquest of their every right.

These proposals threw the Austrian Parliament into convulsions. The three great reactionary parties—the aristocratic, the clerical and the upper middle class—arose in their wrath and banded themselves together into a great coalition against the man who had dared to give form to a political idea so revolutionary in principle, so far-reaching in its social consequences. Count Taaffe was defeated, and those hitherto mutually destructive parties fell into line as one reactionary force to resist the demands of the workers.

But the infamous Ministry of that coalition (the Windischgrätz Ministry, formed on Nov. 23, 1893) found upon taking the reins of government that it could not summarily dismiss or violently suppress the now firmly planted idea of suffrage reform. With unprecedented energy and unbounded enthusiasm the Social-Democratic party now carried on a ceaseless agitation. To the official persecution of its members, which was again becoming intolerable, it boldly replied with the threat of a general strike, without, however, entertaining any illusion on the outcome of such a desperate step. Driven to cover by this unexpected display of unconquerable determination, Ministry and Parliament resorted to dilatory tactics, referring the franchise question from the cabinet to the Chamber, from the Chamber to a standing committee, and from that committee to a sub-committee, whose deliberations were to be privately conducted. From time to time a most complicated and impracticable scheme was presented, affording the desired opportunity for interminable discussion. Meanwhile mass meetings were held under Socialist auspices in large and small towns, and bloody conflicts between the police and the people were of almost daily occurrence, owing to illegal interference and willful provocation on the part of the authorities. Finally, the shooting down of strikers at Falkenau and Ostrau and the mining disaster of Karwin so aroused the indignation of the people that the Ministry, unable to resist any longer the immense pressure of the franchise issue, brought out the legislative scheme concocted in the secrecy of their parliamentary sub-committee. This was, of course, a disgraceful abortion; a mockery of fundamental law. The moment it became known, the uproar throughout the country, and even in Parliament, was tremendous. The coalition broke down and sunk out of sight in general scorn and contempt.—Triumph No. 2 for the Social Democracy.

Then followed the Badeni Ministry, which at last "succeeded" in developing a scheme of "electoral reform" that proved acceptable to the privileged classes. This was of necessity received by the Socialists, not by any means as a first installment of the great debt owing to the proletariat, but as a prying tool of some possible use in effecting an entrance into Parliament, where the few of them who might squeeze in through the narrow opening just made would be able to agitate, educate and generally bombard the citadel of privilege from a more elevated position.

Here, again, a brief explanation is necessary to the understanding of the "reform" in question.

Under the old electoral law, (1) the aristocracy and the high clergy, (2) the great capitalists, (3) the bourgeoisie (or middle class) of cities, and (4) the peasant proprietors, constituted four distinct electoral classes, or "curiae," each of which sent to the lower house of Parliament a certain number of deputies. Under the new law this division is maintained, and the total number of deputies sent by the four privileged classes is, as it was before, 353. But the proletariat, the wage-workers, the dispossessed, the productive masses of the empire, upon the labor of which emperor, noble, bishop, capitalist, trader and landowner are dependant for existence, and which had no representation, at all in the Reichsrath under the old law, have been politically dignified; into a curia, entitled to 72 deputies, or one-sixth of the whole number. Any single one of the four privileged curiae can, in fact, outvote in Parliament the proletarian curia.

The least numerous but most privileged of the four upper curiae is, of course, the first, composed of nobles and prelates. A baker's dozen of these lords and eminences may own a whole electoral district, and are therefore entitled to one representative, while it may take 50,000 plebeian voters in a crowded center of population to elect a deputy. (In Bohemia, for instance, 28 per cent. of the soil is owned by 362 persons, chiefly nobles. And note, by the way, that the Bohemian land-owning magnate is also an employer of labor in various industries other than agriculture. He is brewer, distiller, glass and sugar manufacturer, timber merchant and colliery owner all in one. Nowhere else in the world is "agrarian industrialism" so fully developed as in Bohemia, Moravia and Silesia.) To this powerful medieval class belongs also the upper house of Parliament, the house of lords, which is composed of princes, nobles, arch-bishops, bishops and life members appointed by the Emperor.

The second curia is essentially representative of capitalism in its highest development. It is composed of the chambers of commerce, whose members are elected by private corporations, bankers and great merchants. From this mercantile an idea may be formed of the character, views and abilities of the deputies of this curia.

As regards the city and country bourgeoisies, or middle classes, which constitute the two next curiae, it may be observed that their influence, like their numerical strength, is now on the wane. The original intent of the Constitution—which had been framed in times of political and social turmoil, when the middle classes were at the height of their power—had been to place in their hands the reins of government. But, by a strange combination of economic evolution and feudal reaction, the plutocracy has steadily forged to the front while the aristocracy regained its standing. Yet, with every plutocratic or aristocratic encroachment, tending to shorten the life of the middle class, the bourgeois parties, whose chief characteristic is to be stone-blind everywhere and under all circumstances, are growing more bitter against Socialism, which would extinguish the class but save the man, and more servile to the actual destroyers of both the class and the man.

At last the electoral campaign opened. Although powerful as a body of agitators, already capable of profoundly stirring the working masses in nearly all parts of the vast empire, the Socialists were not yet, by far, sufficiently organized to place everywhere candidates in the field. Their pecuniary means, also, were very limited. Again, some of their most effective speakers, writers and organizers were pining away behind prison bars. Lastly, every influence, every device, every mode of intimidation that could be brought to bear upon the dependent, the timid or the ignorant, by the privileged and their lackeys was unscrupulously used to the utmost extent. Fraud was also resorted to on a stupendous scale. The day of voting was not the same in different places. In the rural districts there was actually no day fixed in advance, and the casting of votes took place at any village when a perambulating commission, appointed for the purpose of collecting the suffrages, made its appearance. This commission was usually accompanied by gendarmes or soldiers. On many occasions notice was given of its coming to the local authorities so that those only were secretly informed and could vote who might be depended upon to "vote right." In order to carry out this plan more effectively, the commission would arrive late in the evening, the trusted voters alone would be awakened, and the election would be held at midnight. The peasants rebelled against this practice; they kept up videttes to warn them of the arrival of the commission and appeared in full force at the ballot box. This gave rise to warm protests, to indignant denunciations, and finally to riots, which were quelled by gendarmes and soldiers with the sabre and the bayonet. The spilling of blood was officially justified by the commission and unofficially by the government organs, on the remarkable ground that the "rebels" were men "dissatisfied with having been granted the right of suffrage, and this sovereign right had to be vindicated at any cost of limb, or of life if necessary."

For all that, when the count had all been made up, it was found that the Socialist candidates had received 750,000 votes, and that fifteen of them had been elected, seven of whom were from Bohemia.

On that day of March, 1897—the coldest day on record for the privileged classes of Austria, the most pleasantly warm for her proletariat—a mighty shout went up from the Alps to the Karpathians, from the Danube to the Vistula. It was re-echoed throughout Europe, and many a Socialist heart in America throbbed with delight and hope. The day of universal deliverance is surely coming.

A peculiarity of the labor movement in Austria, which we have endeavored to make quite plain in the foregoing pages, and which commends it to the attention of Americans, is that the diversity of races and languages in the empire, instead of proving the most serious obstacle to the propagation of Socialism, has contributed to give it there, in a higher degree, perhaps, than anywhere else, its true international character.

The chief difficulty with which the Austrian Comrades have had to contend, and one that does not exist to the same extent in any other country, is the difference of economic conditions in the various parts of that great political aggregate, over which a Habsburg is still reigning in somewhat feudal style. While manufacturing industries of the most advanced type are flourishing in certain regions and turning out products actually unequalled in the world, in other regions agriculture not only is the sole occupation of the people, but has hardly progressed beyond the early ways of civilization. The great estates, the best cultivated, are owned by the nobles or great capitalists, whose relations to the peasantry are essentially those of the ancient lords to their vassals five hundred years ago. In great cities the artisan, although injuriously affected in many ways by the competition of machine work, has not yet been driven

out of existence, and the small merchant, who bewails his own decline but rejoices at the failure of his fellow tradesman, is still a being of much importance. Here, then, we have a composite structure of advanced capitalism, middle class individualism and antiquated feudalism, the triple face of which is necessarily reflected in the manners of the people and in their national legislation.

To preserve this incongruous structure, made up of three plundering classes respectively belonging to different ages; to harmonize those three "interests," naturally antagonistic, in securing to each its "proper share" of the wealth extensively produced by a fourth class, fit only to be robbed so long as it remains unconscious of its power and destiny; such is the problem with which the modern "statesmen" of Austria are constantly wrestling; a problem of political acrobatics far more complicated than was centuries ago the purely military one of gathering under one crown different races of the same social and economic age.

To awaken the fourth class; to strike the hour, projected by the sun of progress on the dial of time, when that class must emerge in full consciousness from the animal state and be the whole of humanity; such is the task of Socialists everywhere; a task by no means easy in Austria; and, for that matter, most difficult where it seems easiest; but a simple one, that all are irresistibly impelled to perform, who, seeing the light, know that the day has come.

DEBS IN LYNN.

A Document of Present and Future Historic Interest.

LYNN, Mass., Dec. 1.—The report I wish to give of the questions and answers at our Lynn "Debs meeting" may seem belated at this hour, the meeting having taken place on October 26. But this is one of the cases of "rather late than never." Quite recent events impart lasting interest to these questions, put by our Comrades, and answered by Debs. All our Comrades should know what took place.

QUESTION BY COMRADE REARDON:

"Why do you step in between the S. L. P. and the progress it is making, as you have nothing new to offer from what the S. L. P. offers, your party being a party of a day, and a side-track movement?"

Debs: "I do not know that I am stepping in between. The leaders of the S. L. P. said that I was not eligible to membership. [He wisely refrained from being specific on that statement, not being able to make it good by proof.] The S. L. P. maligned and vilified me, but no words have fallen from my lips against them or their organization. I and my companions have been declared fools and frauds by the leaders of the S. L. P. [Here again he wisely refrained from being specific. Had he tried to be specific he would have been forced to fall back upon the firm and trenchant criticisms with which the party exposed his errors. By doing that he would have had to admit what is becoming clearer to all—to wit, that he and his blind devotees resent all criticism as a personal affront, a sort of insult to the Holy of Holies.] I did not want to join the S. L. P. and be thrown out, as other good men have been. [Here he looked with a pleasant nod to Mr. Herbert N. Casson, who sat on the platform, and who, as our Comrades will remember, tried to place himself above the party, was expelled and then figured as one of the organizers of the "New" or "Bryan Democracy," whose members in the Massachusetts Legislature made common cause with the Republicans.] While their principles are entirely satisfactory to me, I am utterly opposed to their tactics. There are thousands of Socialists driven from the party by their tactics. It is impossible to build up a Socialist party with such tactics in this country. That is why I and my associates laid the foundation of a new Social Democracy."

QUESTION BY COMRADE McDONNELL:

"Before putting my question, I wish to say that there can be no leaders in the S. L. P. in the sense you speak of, because each member has a voice and vote on all things like any other. But is it not a fact that all that keeps you out of the S. L. P. is your own individualism?"

Debs: "I look upon the S. L. P. in the light of stiffers, who drive many who would be good Socialists out of their ranks by their intemperate language and actions." [Specifications were again omitted, because the "intemperate" language and actions in mind would have been found to be the identical language that the Populist "Socialists" complained of when they were proven to be wrong and bound to collapse; and the "good" Socialists kept away would have been found to be the gentlemen who got pay for stumping for the candidate of the silver mine syndicates who shoot down their miners.]

QUESTION BY COMRADE MALONEY:

"If the S. L. P. is what you claim, how is it that Mr. John Foster, organizer of Branch 1, Social Democracy of Philadelphia, made application to the S. L. P. to unite forces?"

Debs: "I deny that staunchly. I doubt not that such a letter was received by the S. L. P., but I have strong doubts of its coming from Mr. Foster." [This was, presumably, a sample of "intemperate" language towards the S. L. P. The inference his words sought to create was that the S. L. P. wrote the letter and mailed it to themselves—in other words, forged Foster's name. Since then I wrote to Mr. Foster, whose name and address were attached to his letter in THE PEOPLE, and I received a very prompt answer stating that he did write to the National Executive of the S. L. P., asking why the old and the new Socialist party could not be united on common ground, etc.]

QUESTION BY COMRADE GIBSON:

"In the event of your Social Democracy being successful in organizing and becoming a political party, would it put up a ticket in the field against the S. L. P. and its platform?"

Debs: "Would the S. L. P. put up one against the Social Democracy?" [The answer to the following question throws some light on this evasion.]

QUESTION BY COMRADE McDONNELL:

"Didn't you vote your influence for Bryan, and also vote for him at the last election?"

Debs: "Yes; and I would do it again under the same circumstances. I consider that Bryan was doing a great work for the Socialist cause, as all the trusts and combines were against him. [Here we have it all in a nutshell: the candidate of the syndicated silver mine barons is considered as having "all the trusts and combines" against him; the candidate of the bankrupt middle class interests, that seek to SMASH THE TRUSTS AND COMBINES, AND IN THAT WAY SEND US BACK TO THE DAYS OF SMALL INDIVIDUAL PRODUCTION, is considered to be "doing a great work for the Socialist cause," for a cause the object of which is to PROMOTE CONCENTRATION

AND LARGE COLLECTIVE PRODUCTION.] The S. L. P. has been in existence 15 years; its vote for Matchett and Maguire fell off 6,000 at the last election. [?] At the last Presidential election—Matchett and Maguire, 1896—we polled 36,564 votes, or 15,407 more than at the previous Presidential election, 1892. Moreover, while this increase may seem small, it is infinitely larger than the millions of Debs' Bryan party our increase or "falling off" was a thing to build on, and we have built on, and, since, "fallen off" some more by reaching at least 52,000 this year, while the "increase" of the vote of the "promoter of Socialism Bryan" has resulted in a dumping of his "cause." One of the reasons why the S. L. P. vote does not increase is because the members of that party consider that a man has to be on the verge of starvation before his mind is clear enough for any economic teachings. [That portrayed his understanding of what is meant by the class struggle: Seeing how explicit the party and all Socialist teaching is upon this subject, the flippancy of the answer becomes still more significant.]

QUESTION BY COMRADE MALONEY:

"Why do you try to throw odium upon the S. L. P. by saying it considers a man has to be reduced to starvation before he is ready for a change, when, in the Declaration of Independence, Thomas Jefferson, whom you claim to admire, uses the following words literally: 'All experience hath shown that mankind are more disposed to suffer, while evils are sufferable, than to right themselves by abolishing the forms to which they are accustomed.'?"

Debs acknowledged the quotation to be correct, and presumably shifted the odium to Jefferson's shoulders. Several minor questions and answers followed, and then came this:

QUESTION BY COMRADE REARDON:

"How can you consistently advocate Socialism and yet vote for Bryan and say he is doing good to the cause of Socialism? What claim can you lay to consistency when in one breath you tell us workers that we produced all the wealth and machinery, and everything about us, and in the next breath you ask us to abdicate our rights to all this that we have produced and go with you to some isolated corner of the country and colonize, and work with primitive tools, and leave the capitalists in possession of all this wealth that we as a whole have created, and in that way further increase the helplessness both of the workers whom we leave behind and of those who go off your colony?"

Debs: "It is perfectly consistent for a Socialist to support Bryan. Such men as Bryan will bring Socialism on, while the S. L. P. will not. Let me prove you how. I went down to talk to the miners; I could get from 15 to 20 thousand people to listen to me because I talk a language that can be understood by the miners, ignorant as they are. [According to this theory, the way to bring Socialism is not to teach Socialism but to reel off pretty phrases before large crowds. Bryan does that before large crowds. THEREFORE, he will bring Socialism, notwithstanding he preaches just the reverse of what Socialism wants. It is easier to understand false theories of economics; thousands will come and listen; THEREFORE Debs' speeches to the miners, in which capitalists are spoken of as workmen and the hearers are switched wrong, will bring Socialism sooner than a speech delivered to fewer men who are taught correct economics. This theory might be worth trying had it not been thoroughly tried, and shown by an uninterrupted chain of experience, to lead straight to zero. Illustrations are so numerous that they are superfluous, the Social Democracy will furnish and is furnishing the latest illustration. Our gatherings start small but grow; all others start big but peter out small.] While the High Priest of the S. L. P. sits on a pedestal, high in the clouds of "scientific Socialism," I go down and put myself on a common footing with the men. For that reason the miners will follow me. But the 'Scientific Socialist' will first ask a miner 'Are you class-conscious? No! BANG, down you go.' Then, again, another miner is met, and the 'Scientific Socialist' will ask: 'Have you read and digested Karl Marx? No! BANG, down you go.' [?] Why, just look at their official organ, THE PEOPLE, which is a proof of their despotism. The language it uses is such that some members of the S. L. P. refuse to allow it into their homes. Because of the attitude of the S. L. P. we sow the seed of a new Social Democracy. The S. L. P. can not grow under such tactics. I prophesy the Social Democracy will have two million votes in 1900.' [Last June he prophesied he would have in a few weeks 500,000 men for his new colony. This is December. Where are they?]

QUESTION BY COMRADE HUGHES:

"Suppose your colony were successfully launched in the State of Washington, what would your Social Democracy do in case the capitalist government, which would have been left by you everywhere in power, would decide to crush it by force? As you are able to prophesy the vote in 1900, can you with the same prophetic ability prophesy what would happen if force of arms were brought to bear upon the colony?"

Debs: "I don't know just what will happen. If the colonists then fire they would be proceeding wholly within their constitutional prerogatives; they would then be in the right; and those who would fire on them would be firing on Old Glory and in the position of rebels." [Did Debs learn anything from the Chicago strike?]

This will do. Several times in the course of his speech, Debs referred to Gov. Rogers, of Washington, as being

